

This is a self-archived version of a book chapter.

To cite this work, please use the published version:

<https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781003392002-20/conflict-collaboration-kat-gupta-ruth-pearce>

From conflict to collaboration: solidarity and compromise in trans and women's movements

Authors: Kat Gupta (Royal Holloway), Ruth Pearce (University of Glasgow)

Introduction

The relationship between trans movements and women's movements is complex, marked by both intense collaboration and historical tensions. While there are important points of connection, there are also conflicts. Sandy Stone (1987) writes that the transgender body is "a hotly contested site of cultural inscription"; today, these inscribed meanings have implications for issues including participation in sports, the ability to consent to medical interventions, and fundamental questions of what a woman *is*. We write this chapter during a global surge of anti-trans sentiment. This sentiment is realised socially through increased hate crimes and violence directed at trans people, legislatively through laws that restrict recognition of trans people's identities, access to healthcare, and participation in public life, and politically through support for parties and candidates who advocate for such increased restrictions (Pearce et al. 2020).

Women's social movements are diverse in their level of support for trans people. While some feminists articulate damaging ideas about trans people (e.g. Raymond, 1979), they have been challenged by both trans feminists (Koyama, 2004; Pearce et al., 2020) and cis feminist allies (Hines, 2020; Olufemi, 2020; Rogers 2023). These conflicts come at a cost both to individuals and to activism. As Stone (1987) argues, to impose meaning on someone while denying them the ability to speak back is itself violent, and reproduces sexism and misogyny. Activists in trans and women's movements have found these conflicts exhausting and unproductive. As Pearce, Erikainen and Vincent (2020: 883) write, debates over trans people's bodies, civil rights and lived experience serve only to "sap our energy and interfere with our ability to focus on the tasks at hand [...] [including] abortion rights, bodily autonomy and self-determination, fair pay, equal rights to sport participation and physical activity, wealth redistribution, open borders, and freedom from sexual violence". As trans feminist authors, we are committed to working towards freedom, self-determination and autonomy for

all, and working with those who share that vision. We believe that it is possible – indeed, necessary – for trans and women’s movements to work together.

In this chapter, we explore the potential for collaboration and conflict mediation between trans and women’s activists. We argue that by working together, we expand our understandings of power and privilege, and are better positioned to challenge discrimination and oppression in its many forms. However, we also note that there are contexts where compromise cannot be easily reached. We therefore seek to distinguish between opportunities for collaboration, where trans and women’s movements might work through differences in language or issues around safety in gendered spaces, and barriers to compromise, in which collaboration is prevented through disinformation or feelings of existential threat.

1 Histories of solidarity and collaboration

Trans people of all genders have long supported and been involved in women’s movements, including woman-only, lesbian and/or queer spaces (Garriga-López 2016; Kaas 2016; Stryker 2017). Such spaces were often born out of radical feminist groups who were keenly attuned to the ways in which women - including trans women - are marginalised through language, actions, culture and legislation. It is easy to conceptualise these spaces as historically created and sustained solely by cis feminists; however, this is not the case. As Enke (2018) argues, memorialising such spaces as simply absent of trans people denies feminism’s complex history. In their analysis of the work of US trans feminists Beth Elliott, Sylvia Rivera and Sandy Stone, Enke (2018: 10) challenges us to look beyond the “ever-evolving set of binary characterizations [which] started to eclipse [1970s] feminisms’ multivocal and multivalent complexities” to examine its “deeply questioning, queer, coalitional and anti-imperialist past”.

Sandy Stone’s experience as sound engineer in the 1970s for Olivia Records, a feminist lesbian-separatist record label, offers a useful insight into these shared histories of trans and women’s movements (Stryker 2017: 132; Enke 2018). Stone was always open to members of the collective about her transgender status, and won respect for being willing to give up “all the privileges of white men in this society, access to everybody in the world of rock and roll [...] and come work with us, with musicians that nobody had ever heard of before, for hardly any money, to live and work collectively” (Berson, quoted by Moore 2023). Stone’s expression of solidarity was met in turn by Olivia when they funded transition-related surgery for her.

In 1976 a chaotic meeting took place with feminists from outside Olivia who objected to Stone’s presence in the community. Olivia released a statement in response:

“Because Sandy decided to give up completely and permanently her male identity and live as a woman and a lesbian, she is now faced with the same kinds of oppression that other women and lesbians face. She must also cope with the ostracism that all of society imposes on a transsexual.” (Olivia Collective, cited by Williams, 2014)

This statement clearly affirms Stone's female and lesbian identities while also recognising her trans history and emphasising the specific marginalisation she experienced at the intersection of sexism and transphobia (cf. Serano 2007). While Stone's "male identity" is mentioned, it is powerfully invoked as something that she willingly, completely and permanently gave up: rather than continuing to inform her actions, male privilege is something that Stone actively rejected. In doing so, Stone aligned herself with the struggles of other women.

The statement continues:

"When evaluating whom we trust as a close ally, we take a person's history into consideration, but our focus as political lesbians is on what her actions are now. If she is a person who comes from privilege, has she renounced that which is oppressive in her privilege, and is she sharing with other women that which is useful? Is she aware of her own oppression? Is she open to struggle around class, race, and other aspects of lesbian feminist politics?" (Olivia Collective, cited by Williams, 2014)

In making this statement, members of Olivia emphasise the work any woman must do to examine her history and her privilege. Olivia acknowledges that womanhood is not a "get out of jail free" card: instead, the statement clearly recognises that women regardless of their background can be complicit or active in oppression of others (see also Koyama, 2004).

By framing feminist activism as praxis - as what one does rather than what one is - the collective offers one potential way forward. Olivia's vision offers a nuanced understanding of trans feminist politics in which biology is not destiny; rather it is a person's actions and lived experience that indicate their political and social affiliations.

2 When compromise cannot exist

We now turn our attention to how beliefs about bio-essentialism - the idea that the essence of a person's gendered traits is determined by their sexed body - are mobilised to both centre and constrain definitions of womanhood. This has important implications for trans and women's social movements and, especially for individual trans women.

Contemporary trans rights advocacy and anti-trans sentiment take place within a global context that transcends the boundaries of nation-states (Kruckowski, Taylor-Harman and Gupta, 2019). Anti-trans sentiment is informed and sustained by organised networks of people operating in a complex political, legal, medical and media landscape. Networks can be very loose, and include groups who describe themselves as gender critical but not feminist, trans-exclusionary radical feminist groups, conservative Christian organisations, and organisations such as Hands Across The Aisle which seek to unite these very different groups around anti-trans actions. Crucially, while some of these groups are led or funded by male-led organisations, others strongly position themselves within a tradition of feminist and/or woman-centred politics (Pearce et al., 2020).

Crucially, anti-trans sentiment does not stay limited to feelings and words: it is realised in actions to restrict trans lives, wellbeing and existence. For example, Helen Joyce, a high-

profile anti-trans author, activist, and former editor at *The Economist* has argued for 'reducing or keeping down the number of trans people who transition' (Kelleher 2022). Similarly, the Women's Human Rights Campaign (2020) (later renamed Women's Declaration International) argued for the 'elimination' of 'the practice of transgenderism' in evidence submitted to the UK Parliament, echoing Raymond's (1979: 178) influential argument that "the problem of transsexualism would best be served by morally mandating it out of existence".

Both Joyce and Women's Declaration International are part of a network of UK-based 'gender critical' actors who seek, in Joyce's own words, to "get through to the decision-makers" that every person who transitions is 'a huge problem to a sane world'"(Kelleher 2022). In practice, this has involved campaigning (with some success) to oppose inclusion measures for trans people in public organisations, remove trans people's access to transition-related healthcare, and ban trans women from entering women's spaces or participating in sport. Central to these campaigns is the idea that the very *existence* of trans people poses an inherent threat to vulnerable individuals, especially women and girls (Owen, 2022). We argue that it is impossible to find compromise when one side of the so-called debate wants trans people to survive and thrive, and the other side is effectively seeking to implement the conditions for our elimination.

3 Creating the conflict

To understand contemporary divisions between (some) trans and women's social movements, and the success of gender-critical actors in fuelling this divide, we believe it is important to examine how anti-trans sentiment, expression and action is contextualised. While the contemporary anti-trans movement is global, its rhetoric and aims are inevitably expressed and realised locally. To explore this further, the first author, Kat Gupta examined a bespoke 306,843 word corpus of comments left on Scottish online newspaper articles about trans issues between January 2020 and November 2021¹ (Gupta 2021). Following a corpus linguistic methodology, the data was categorised using Wmatrix (Rayson 2009) to assign words to semantic domains, then each semantic category was manually examined using Wordsmith 8 (Scott 2020) to further refine the categories and identify prevalent named discourses (Sutherland 2004; Gupta 2015).

While Kat's aim was to broadly explore public opinion on trans topics, when they analysed the data, they found that the overwhelming majority of comments expressed anti-trans sentiment. Comments supportive of trans people had very little presence in the data. It is important to note that this data is from the general public rather than from feminist groups and organisations; however, the arguments and viewpoints do appear to be informed by common anti-trans arguments as publicised by organisations such as Sex Matters, for whom

¹ Data collected from The Herald/Sunday Herald, the National, the Glasgow Times and the Daily Record. Newspaper articles were identified using the search terms "transgender" OR "transgendered" OR "trans rights" OR "trans healthcare" OR "trans people" OR "gender change" OR "gender swap" OR "gender switch" OR "trans gender" OR "trans-gender" OR "nonbinary" OR "non-binary" OR "gender neutral" OR "trans activist" OR "trans lobby", then comments of the top 30 articles from each newspaper for each year were collected.

Helen Joyce works as Director of Advocacy, and Women's Declaration International. Interestingly, this does not directly reflect wider reported social attitudes among the UK or Scottish populations (Ormston et al., 2010; Smith, 2022). Consequently, these comments should be understood as representative of a concerted effort to influence public discourse on the part of anti-trans campaigners.

Two major political concerns contextualise commenters' contributions in this Scottish corpus. The first was proposed reforms to the UK's Gender Recognition Act (GRA), the legislation which enables trans people to change the sex marker on their birth certificate (see Hines 2020). The second was the ongoing debate about Scottish independence from the UK: commenters expressed concern that the Scottish National Party's general support for GRA reform had the potential to alienate pro-independence voters and to cause division within the party, thus undermining the movement.

Other named discourses reflect concerns common to anti-trans sentiment more globally. One key area is the definitions and boundaries of womanhood. There were 3469 occurrences of *woman* and *women*, the possessive forms *women's* and *woman's*, suffixes such as *womenfolk* and prefixes such as *trans-women* and *transwomen* in the corpus. It is essential to recognise that, in this data, trans women are made visible in a way that trans men and non-binary people are not. When *man* or *men* occurs, it is - with few exceptions - used to describe either cis men or trans women.

In the following section, we focus on the following discussions on womanhood present in the corpus which are relevant to this chapter: definitions of womanhood, appeals to biology, trans women's status as women, and issues of sexual violence. These concerns are interlinked: by denying that trans women are women using a bio-essentialist rationale, commenters are able to position trans women as men and therefore perpetrators of male sexual violence.

3.1 Definitions of womanhood

Our corpus data shows that commenters contrast legal identity (as represented by GRA reform) with cis experiences of being a woman. Most of the commenters here criticise notions of sex/gender self-determination (referred to as "self-ID"), and state that one cannot become a woman simply by defining oneself as such.

Commenters characterise trans women's experiences as a fantasy rooted in idealised, culturally salient ideas of womanhood and others express concerns about the status of the category of womanhood itself: "If a man can identify as a woman then the ontological category of woman ceases to exist in that society" (The Herald 2021, cited in Gupta, 2021). Following from this logic, other commenters question whether "a biological male [can] begin to understand the concerns of women" (The Herald 2020, cited in Gupta, 2021). Such concerns reflect a long history of trans-exclusionary feminist discourse expressed by authors such as Mary Daly (1978) and Janice Raymond (1979) and often fail to account for different experiences of womanhood as mediated by other, intersecting forms of inequality on the grounds of (for instance) class, race, religion, and disability (Koyama, 2004).

3.2 Appeals to biology

Biology is invoked by commenters as an ultimate arbiter of sex (for “biological” males and females), from which innate gendered behaviour is presumed to arise. Crucially, questions of lived sex/gender, plus the complex interactions between chromosomes, hormone production, hormone sensitivity, internal/external sex organs, and secondary sexual characteristics, are ignored. Instead, commenters largely locate sex/gender in chromosomes or in genitalia. One commenter questions whether transition-related surgery or hormones have any effect on biology:

“Do you really think that a boxing match between a biological male, and a woman, would be in any way fair, no matter what surgery the biological male has taken, and however many hormones have been ingested?” (The Herald 2021, cited in Gupta, 2021).

In other words, a person’s biological history is perceived as more important than their current reality. These bio-essentialist understandings of sex/gender are subsequently utilised to demand strict requirements for legal gender recognition. One argues that

[t]he idea that a biological male with a penis, can self determine themself as female without a medical or psychiatric assessment and support is unacceptable and many women rightly feel threatened by this” (The Herald 2021, cited in Gupta, 2021).

Arguments such as this are relevant to the management of women-only spaces, such as public toilets, changing rooms, and women’s shelters, as well as single-sex sports. The implication is both that the “male” biology of trans women poses an innate threat to cis women, and that trans women’s potential social or legal status as female enables them to circumvent existing protections against that threat.

3.3 Trans women as (wo)men

Womanhood is constructed by commentators as an identity rooted in biology - but, specifically, the biology of an individual’s assigned sex at birth. Commenters are especially suspicious of surgical and hormonal interventions: example arguments include: “[i]t is a simple fact of biology that a ‘transwoman’ is a man. No amount of plastic surgery or chemicals pumped into a man is going to make them a woman” (The Herald 2021, cited in Gupta, 2021) and “one can become a surgically altered man or a chemically drenched man but never a woman” (The National 2021, cited in Gupta, 2021). The language here is that of artificiality: of being “pumped” or “drenched” in chemicals and of surgical alterations. Trans women are constructed in these comments as not women, but instead as deeply unnatural men (Raymond 1979).

Other commenters are wary of trans women identifying as women through lived experience. As one individual puts it, “[t]o qualify as a transwoman and take a woman’s place all a man has to do is ‘live as a woman’, with no definition of what that means, and claim the status” (The Herald 2021, cited in Gupta, 2021). Womanhood therefore becomes a status impossible to achieve except through assignment of sex at birth: not through medical interventions, not through feeling, and not through navigating the world as a woman.

3.4. Sexual violence

Two main positions are articulated in discussions of sexual violence. One set of commenters argue that all people assigned male at birth, regardless of their lived sex/gender, pose a risk to cis women. A second set of commenters argue that, while trans women themselves are no threat to cis women, there is a high likelihood of cis men abusing forms of self-determination to access women's spaces.

In the first position, bio-essentialist thinking conflates trans women and cis men. Commenters speculate that “[t]here is an unhealthy interest for some individuals born men to attempt by any means to get into women's private space” (The National 2020, cited in Gupta, 2021) and that GRA reform would mean that “biological men can invade places that should be for women only” (The Herald 2021, cited in Gupta, 2021) thereby rejecting the idea that trans women might move through the world in any way as women.

In the second position, trans women are positioned as collateral in necessary efforts to exclude men from women's spaces. One commenter justifies their belief in trans exclusion by arguing that “[r]apists will self-identify as women to get into female prisons and other spaces” (The Herald 2020, cited in Gupta, 2021). Another commenter reasons that

“there's no way for the women to tell if a male in whatever clothes he's wearing is an actual transwoman or someone pretending to be, with evil intentions (after all, all men are excluded from women-only spaces, because we can't tell the good ones from the bad ones)” (The National 2021, cited in Gupta, 2021).

These commenters do seem to recognise that trans women exist (and potentially might even be understood as women); however, they deem the risk of (violent) cis men feigning a trans identity to enter women's spaces to be so high that no person assigned male at birth should be able to enter such spaces (also see 4.1. below).

3.5. Legitimate concerns - or misinformation?

We identify three main areas for conflict between trans and women's groups across the four arenas of discussion explored above. These are: disinformation about trans people; ontological issues regarding the definitions of sex, gender, and womanhood; and questions around women's safety. While the first of these leaves little space for conflict resolution, we believe that compromise is possible regarding issues of ontology and safety.

Across the corpus, numerous commenters reiterate disinformation or misinformation about trans bodies and experiences, reflecting a wider ecosystem of obfuscation around GRA reform in Scotland. For example, discussions around the effects of hormone therapy frequently underestimate or otherwise misrepresent their effects. Endocrine treatments for trans people are the same as those used by cis people, such as by cis women undergoing menopause or cis men with a testosterone deficiency. These treatments have a substantial impact on trans people's emotional experiences and also their bodies; for instance, trans women and non-binary people who take oestrogen and/or androgen blockers experience a reduction in muscle mass and changes in fat distribution (Vincent, 2018). It is therefore unsurprising that no evidence has been found demonstrating that trans women

systematically outcompete other women (Casto and Carré, 2023). Moreover, accounts which focus on trans people's supposed biology ignore the role of social factors. For example, trans people of all genders (and especially trans women) are disproportionately victims rather than perpetrators of sexual violence (Matsuzaka and Koch 2019; Pietzmeier et al. 2020), and are widely discouraged or barred from any participation in sport. As with calls for our elimination, we see little ground for compromise with disinformation, especially when this results in restrictions or outright barriers to our access to medical treatments or participation in sports.

Ontological debates over the definitions of sex, gender and womanhood can similarly distract from the pressing issues that both trans and women's movements seek to address. Anti-trans sentiment posits an uncrossable gulf between the territories of "man" and "woman" and denies the possibility of any kind of crossing or porousness of these boundaries. However, there is potential here for pragmatism. Our activism is rooted in the people and the problems we see before us. In a sense, it does not matter how someone identifies their gender or what they believe sex can be, if we are capable of recognising shared interests and being respectful in addressing others.

Questions of safety reflect shared concerns about gendered and sexual violence that are central to both trans and women's social movements. Consequently, these can also be addressed through compromise and collaboration, so long as everyone's concerns are taken seriously.

4 Compromise and collaboration

What can working together look like? To answer this question, we turn to activism around reproductive justice, spaces for survivors of sexual violence, and bodily autonomy.

It is not necessarily straightforward to deem issues as only relevant to trans movements or to women's movements. In terms of reproductive justice and bodily autonomy, both trans and cis people may seek hormonal and surgical interventions: examples include hormonal supplements for menopause or transition, breast surgeries, and hysterectomies. Trans and cis people may need to make decisions about preserving eggs or sperm, whether or not to conceive and carry a foetus, and when and how to give birth. Both cis women and trans people are often confronted with medical gatekeeping: for example, trans men, non-binary people and cis women may seek hysterectomies for different or for the same reasons, such as transition-related care or as treatment for endometriosis or fibroids. All are likely to be faced with medical hesitance due to medical beliefs about preserving fertility. This offers fertile ground for collaboration based on a shared understanding of bodily autonomy: a person's right to consent to procedures with the full understanding of what they are consenting to. The major differences between trans and women's advocacy in these areas are primarily a matter of language and framing around topics such as biological sex and women's health.

4.1 Identifying the issues

Women's movements have long fought for women-centred language and policies in reproductive care and spaces for survivors. Reproductive healthcare has a long history of seeing women as merely bodies or medical puzzles; women-centred language can therefore be an essential intervention to restore the humanity and agency of those affected.

Buchanan, Geraghty, Whitehead and Newnham (2023) place women-centred care in opposition to medicalisation, "where pregnancy and birth are seen as pathological, dangerous and requiring intervention to control birth" and leading to disrespect, mistreatment and unethical care. Woman-centred language in midwifery and gynaecology therefore takes place within a wider context of woman-centred care, aiming for "respectful practice, ensuring that women have complete understanding and control of their own care" (Mobbs, Williams and Weeks 2018). Similarly, services for survivors of sexual violence - such as specialist counselling services, rape crisis centres, and shelters - have historically sought to create women-only spaces in recognition of the fact that (cis) women are disproportionately likely to be subject to rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence when compared to (cis) men.

However, women-centred language can also be alienating and distressing for trans people who seek access to reproductive or survivor-oriented services. This is in part about self-determination, and the importance for trans people of naming our own relationship to sex and gender. The presumption that only women will require access to certain spaces for survivors or reproductive health can also lead to trans men and non-binary people being unexpected in these spaces, resulting in the denial of care. For example, Stroumsa and colleagues (2019) outline the case of a man whose baby died during labour in the US hospital because medical practitioners couldn't believe that a man was pregnant.

For trans women, a focus on woman-centred language can also raise questions around whether or not they will face direct discrimination and abuse. The positioning of trans women as "men" or otherwise "biologically male" means that many services for reproductive health or survivors have historically rejected them. This is a problem because, as we discuss, trans women have lived experiences of social and biological womanhood. However, even where services are trans-inclusive - and most sexual violence services are within the UK context in which we write (Stonewall and nfpSynergy, 2018) - the use of woman-centred language can lead trans women to fear that they will not be welcome (Matsuzaka and Koch 2019).

Consequently, trans social movements - including cis allies - have often fought against the gendering of language and of services. For example, to ensure inclusion of trans men and non-binary people, some individuals or groups argue for the use of terminology such as "pregnant person" rather than "pregnant woman", or "childbearing person", rather than "mother" (Homer, Wilson and Davis, 2020: 105). This has inevitably received pushback from women's movements and feminist service providers, who rightly point to the historic (and continuing) misogyny of healthcare services and rape culture.

We posit that the solutions to conflicts such as this lie not in agreeing upon a shared ontology or language of sex and gender, but rather than finding pragmatic solutions which meet the needs of all groups. This involves taking seriously the need for woman-centred language and women's spaces. It also involves taking seriously the needs of trans people of

all genders who may need to access services or spaces historically associated with cis women.

4.2 Additive language and spaces

In reproductive health, one area of compromise which is gaining ground is that of additive language: that is, retaining woman-centred language while also acknowledging the existence of trans bodies and lives. This approach has been promoted by campaigners and practitioners associated with both trans and women's movements (Sutton and Borland 2015). For example, guidance produced by Brighton and Sussex University Hospitals in the UK recommends 'using gender-neutral language alongside the language of womanhood', and paying attention to context in doing so (Green and Riddington 2020: 12-13). Examples include referring to 'women and people' in relevant policy documentation, referring to women as women, and ensuring systems are in place to ensure men and non-binary people are referred to with their actual gender and relevant pronouns when they are accessing services. The aim is to maintain a woman-centred service while ensuring that trans people are both expected and provided for (see also Homer, Wilson, and Davis 2020: 105).

In the context of abortion rights activism, Sutton and Borland (2015: 1386) observe that Argentina's National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe and Free Abortion:

"emphasised the body as a key element linking abortion rights and gender identity. It underscored human rights and democracy to make the case for rights that still need legal recognition, referring to both sets of claims – abortion and gender identity – as 'debts of democracy'.

Romero (2021: 132) describes how legislators in Argentina's House of Representatives subsequently amended a pivotal abortion rights bill so it referred to "women and pregnant persons" (*mujeres y personas gestantes*).

Frontline workers in trans-inclusive domestic and sexual violence services have emphasised that addressing the needs of trans people can align entirely with the aims of women-centred services. For example, a respondent in research undertaken in the UK by Stonewall and nfpSynergy (2018: 10) described how:

"We feel that providing inclusive and positive support for trans people fits quite well with our ethos because we work from the principle of services being gender-responsive."

In this way, feminist approaches to acknowledging the impact of gender inequalities upon experiences of sexual violence can be extended to trans experience. Any negativity reported in this research was not linked to the trans status of potential service users, but instead reflected anxieties that service providers would say or do the wrong thing and cause further distress for trans people seeking help. This provides space for further collaboration between trans and women's movements in producing information and guidance to support services for vulnerable people.

Conclusion

To work through apparent conflicts between and within trans and women's movements, we advocate for focusing on the *and* rather than *instead of*. We are interested in identifying shared interests and grounds for collaboration, rather than oppression olympics or a race to the bottom. This is about recognising what trans people and women share, and also about recognising that many trans people are women and/or have been perceived as such in a way that results in our marginalisation.

Processes of collaboration further benefit from individuals and groups thinking beyond their own direct interests in the name of collective benefit. For example, in the context of the global anti-trans movement, trans people need cis allies to stand by us and work with us. We cannot and should not be expected to engage in conflict resolution with individuals uninterested in any outcome short of our elimination from public life. However, our shared histories of trans/feminist collaboration also contain powerful and inspiring examples of solidarity with which to draw from. In his account of trans people's contributions to the Argentinian abortion rights movement, Romero (2021: 129) notably cites the travesti leader Lohana Berkins, who insisted:

We must take up a thousand times the fight to decriminalize abortion, because through it, we are also asking for the right to decide about our own body [...]. We travestis don't have the physical ability to give birth to a child, but we can conceive another history.

Conflict can be resolved where all parties have a shared interest in mitigating discrimination and harm. This does not necessarily require complete agreement about language or a shared ontology of (for example) sex and gender. Rather, it necessitates honest conversations about what each movement, group, or individual is trying to achieve, and where collaboration is truly possible.

References

- Buchanan, K., Geraghty, S., Whitehead, L. and Newnham, E. (2023) Woman-centred ethics: A feminist participatory action research. *Midwifery* p. 117
- Casto, K. V., & Carré, J. M. (2023). Testosterone, Sex, and Sport. *Policy Insights from the Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 10(2), pp. 193-200.
- Daly, M. (1978). *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*. Boston: Beacon Press
- Enke, F (2018) "Collective Memory and the Transfeminist 1970s: Toward a Less Plausible History". *Trans Studies Quarterly* 5(1) pp. 9-29.
- Garriga-López, C. S. (2016) Transfeminist Crossroads: Reimagining the Ecuadorian State. *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 3(1-2) pp. 104–119
- Green, H., and Riddington, A. (2021) *Gender Inclusive Language in Perinatal Services*. Brighton: Brighton and Sussex University Hospitals NHS Trust. Retrieved from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210211081227/https://www.bsuh.nhs.uk/maternity/our-services/specialist-support/gender-inclusion/> (Accessed 31 Aug 2023].
- Gupta, K. (2015) *Representation of the British Suffrage Movement*. London: Bloomsbury

- Gupta, K. (2021) *Exploring public attitudes towards trans issues in Scottish newspaper comments*. Internal report, Scottish Trans, Stonewall Scotland and LGBT Youth Scotland
- Hines, S. (2020) Sex wars and (trans) gender panics: Identity and body politics in contemporary UK feminism. *The Sociological Review*. 68(4) pp. 699-717
- Homer, C., Wilson, A. and Davis, D. (2020) Editorial: Words matter; language matters. *Women and Birth* 33 pp. 105-106
- Kaas, H. (2016) Birth of Transfeminism in Brazil: Between Alliances and Backlashes. *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 3(1-2) pp. 146–149
- Kelleher, P. (2022) 'Gender critical' author Helen Joyce says she wants to 'reduce' number of trans people: 'Chilling'. Retrieved from: <https://www.thepinknews.com/2022/06/03/helen-joyce-transgender-lgbtq/> [accessed 15 Dec 2023]
- Koyama, E. (2004) *Whose Feminism Is it Anyway? And Other Essays from the Third Wave*. Portland: Confluere Publications.
- Krutkowski, S, Taylor-Harmann, S. and Gupta, K., (2020). De-biasing on University Campuses in the Age of Misinformation. *Reference Services Review* 48(1) pp. 113-128
- Matsuzaka, S. and Koch, D. E. (2019) Trans Feminine Sexual Violence Experiences: The Intersection of Transphobia and Misogyny. *Affilia: Feminist Inquiries in Social Work* 34(1) pp. 28-47.
- Mobbs, N, Williams, C. and Weeks, A. (2018) Humanising birth: Does the language we use matter?. *The BMJ opinion*. Retrieved from: <https://blogs.bmj.com/bmj/2018/02/08/humanising-birth-does-the-language-we-use-matter/> [accessed 29 Nov 2023]
- Moore, F. (2023) How a feminist, lesbian music collective powerfully defended trans rights in 1970s Los Angeles. Retrieved from: <https://www.thepinknews.com/2023/04/24/sandy-stone-olivia-records-trans-rights-los-angeles/> [accessed 15 Dec 2023]
- Olufemi, L. (2020) *Feminism Interrupted: Disrupting Power*. London: Pluto Press
- Ormston, R., Curtice, J., McConville, S., and Reid, S. (2010) *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2010*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Government.
- Owen, L. (2022) "Parasitically Occupying Bodies": Exploring Toxifying Securitization in Anti-Trans and Genocidal Ideologies. *Peace Review* 34(4) pp. 481-494.
- Pearce, R., Erikainen, S. and Vincent, B. (2020) Afterword: TERF wars in the time of COVID-19. *The Sociological Review*. 68(4), pp. 882-888
- Raymond, J. (1979) *The Transsexual Empire: The Making of the She-Male*. Boston: Beacon Press
- Rayson, P. (2009) *Wmatrix: a web-based corpus processing environment*. Lancaster: Computing Department, Lancaster University. Available at: <http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/wmatrix/>
- Peitzmeier, S. M., Malik, M., Kattari, S. K., Marrow, E., Stephenson, R., Agénor, M., and Reisner, S. L. (2020) Intimate partner violence in transgender populations: systematic review and meta-analysis of prevalence and correlates. *American Journal of Public Health* 110(9) pp. e1-e14.
- Rogers, B. A. (2023) TERFs aren't feminists: lesbians stand against trans exclusion. *Journal of Lesbian Studies*.

- Romero, F. F. (2021) "We can conceive another history": Trans activism around abortion rights in Argentina. *International Journal of Transgender Health*. 22(1-2) pp. 126-140
- Scott, M. (2020). *WordSmith Tools version 8*. Stroud: Lexical Analysis Software
- Serano, J. (2007) *Whipping Girl: A Transsexual Woman on Sexism and the Scapegoating of Femininity*. New York: Seal Press
- Smith, M. (2022) Where does the British public stand on transgender rights in 2022? YouGov. Retrieved from: https://yougov.co.uk/society/articles/43194-where-does-british-public-stand-transgender-rights-1?redirect_from=%2Ftopics%2Fsociey%2Farticles-reports%2F2022%2F07%2F20%2Fwhere-does-british-public-stand-transgender-rights [Accessed 17 Dec 2023].
- Stone, S. (1987) *The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto*. Available at <https://sandystone.com/empire-strikes-back.pdf> [accessed 15 Dec 2023]
- Stonewall and nfpSynergy (2018) Supporting trans women in domestic and sexual violence services. Retrieved from: <https://www.stonewall.org.uk/resources/supporting-trans-women-domestic-and-sexual-violence-services>
- Stroumsa, D., Roberts, E. F. S., Kinnear, H., and Harris, L. H. (2019) The Power and Limits of Classification — A 32-Year-Old Man with Abdominal Pain. *New England Journal of Medicine*. 380(20) pp. 1885-1888.
- Stryker, S. (2017) *Transgender History*. New York: Seal Press
- Sutherland, J. (2004) *Gendered Discourses*. Palgrave Macmillan
- Sutton, B. and Borland, E. (2015) Queering abortion rights: notes from Argentina. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*. 20(12) pp. 1378-1393
- Vincent, B. (2018) *Transgender Health: A Practitioner's Guide to Binary and Non-Binary Trans Patient Care*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers
- Williams, C. (2014) TERF Hate and Sandy Stone. Retrieved from: https://www.transadvocate.com/terf-violence-and-sandy-stone_n_14360.htm
- Women's Human Rights Campaign (2020) *Submission to Women and Equalities Committee on Reform of the Gender Recognition Act*. London: House of Commons. Retrieved from: <https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/17510/pdf/> [Accessed 16 Dec 2023].